

Central Committee's Call

Organise Movements to Resist the Anti-People Central, State and Rail Budgets

In accordance with the call given by the Central Committee of our party to 'resist the anti-people budgets' of the Centre alongwith the Railway and different State budgets with a 'Comprehensive programme of campaign through walling, postering, squad meetings, mass deputations to MPs, Ministers, Governors and Government Authorities', the State Committees of our party have since come forward to chalk-out a detailed programme of campaign to raise the vigorous voice of protest of the toiling people against these pro-monopoly, pro-jotedar and anti-people Central, Railway and respective State budgets. Already, the different State, District and Local bodies of our party at various levels have started mobilising public opinion against these anti-people budget. Reports of large numbers of mass meetings being held alongwith mass deputations to the Governors of different States as well as to the Central Ministers and MPs in some States pressing upon them to join in the peoples' protest against the reactionary Central, Rail and different state budgets, are almost daily pouring to our Central office.

On behalf of the Central Committee a memorandum signed by the General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee has been placed

before the Prime Minister on 27th March '79.

The Calcutta District Committee of our party also organised a big mass deputation in Calcutta, West Bengal on March 27 last to the Governor. Large number of people,

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Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)
Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

VOL. 12
No. 15

1st APRIL '79
SUNDAY

PRICE 30 P.
Air Surcharge 4 P.

OBSERVE 24th APRIL IN A SOLEMN AND BEFITTING MANNER

Thirtyfirst Anniversary of our beloved party SUCI stands out as the Thirtyone years of glorious struggle for the emancipation of the toiling people of our country—emancipation from the grips and tentacles of exploitation of capitalism. Thirtyone years back, on 24th April 1948, emerged this revolutionary party of the Indian proletariat through ceaseless struggle covering all aspects of life under the leadership of our beloved leader, teacher and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat who concretised, elaborated and enriched Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country.

The name of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and the party SUCI he built up brick by brick instil in the toiling people of our country courage and confidence in all their struggles against exploitation and oppression. The day 24th April has become synonymous with the toiling people's struggle for emancipation from exploitation—exploitation not only economic but political, moral, cultural and ethical as well.

The observance of 24th April has assumed greater significance today since excepting our party SUCI all the parties whom people so long considered to be left, now stand in open defence of this crisis ridden bourgeois order. In this class divided capitalist society of ours, abandoning the toiling people and their struggle against exploitation and oppression they now preach class harmony, peace, tranquility, law and order in the name of progress and development. But history teaches us that this is the role played by social democratic forces, forces of compromise between labour and capital, in order to pacify peoples' resentment against the exploitative bourgeois class and order.

The toiling people of our country are gradually becoming aware of this treacherous role of these pseudo-left parties from their daily experiences. They are realising more and more that SUCI and SUCI alone is their true friend, the true defender of their cause; consciousness is dawning upon them more and more that to end their miseries the only course left before them is to overthrow this exploitative capitalist state machine and in this life and death struggle the great teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that SUCI carries, can alone lead them to their victory. They are realising more and more from their daily experiences that while all the parties so long known to be left have now thrown it away, SUCI alone is holding aloft the banner of leftism, the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism. More and more people are rallying behind SUCI, greater interest they are showing to learn the invaluable teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. It is our solemn duty to carry faster and deeper to the masses the great teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

The call of 24th April to the toiling people of our country is to put an end to this exploitative capitalist system by making victorious the anti-capitalist socialist revolution without which their miseries and the degeneration all around will not end.

It will, therefore, be their solemn duty and historic task to strengthen SUCI, the only revolutionary party of the proletariat on our soil so as to hasten the day of their emancipation.

Long Live Revolution!
Long Live SUCI!
Long Live 24th April!

On the occasion of
**31st ANNIVERSARY
OF SUCI**

on 24th April '79

MASS MEETING

SAHEED MINAR MAIDAN

CALCUTTA • 5 P. M.

Main Speaker : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

President : Comrade Sankar Singh

GET RID OF ECONOMISM—REFORMISM AND MAKE TRADE UNIONS THE SCHOOLS OF COMMUNIST POLITICS, ETHICS AND CULTURE

—COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

[As announced we give below the synopsis of the speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered on the concluding day of the Delegate Session of the 16th Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani)—Ed. P. Era]

Comrade Mukherjee began his address by pointing out the difference between the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and other Trade Unions.

He said: Your resolutions at this conference have spelt out the problems confronting the democratic mass movement in general and the trade union movement in particular in our country and pointed to the task ahead of the working class and the correct way to solve the basic problems in people's life.

Generally speaking, the working class movement in our country, particularly the trade union movement, has a long history. Beside the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), there are some other trade union organisations active here, some of them quite big and well-known, who, backed by the ruling capitalist class and the Press controlled by it, still wield considerable influence over the workers. These organisations also hold their conferences and organise big rallies and meetings. But what is the fundamental difference between the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and those organisations? The role of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) must be understood correctly from the revolutionary working class outlook. In every respect—right from its way of conducting the day-to-day movements of the working people from the revolutionary outlook to the way it organised this conference, or, for that matter, its method of conducting all the movements, and its method of analysing the concrete situations—this organisation is entirely different from the other trade unions. It is necessary therefore to be equipped properly and adequately through correct grasp of this revolutionary outlook

and method of analysis and organisation in order to accomplish the task this conference has devolved upon the organisation. The trade union is the primary class organisation of the workers. It is the organisation to unite the entire working class and rally it on one platform. In the beginning of the working class movement in our country there was only one trade union organisation here. Many a movement has taken place in the past, many of them were indeed militant, and no few workers laid down their lives in these struggles. But despite all this sacrifice of countless workers, the united struggle could not make much headway toward its historic goal; on the contrary, disunity had struck the working class movement. More than one union grew up in almost every factory and establishment and the trade union movement was divided into many centres representing many trends. Why did it happen like that? The delegates and observers of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) must get at the root of the problem; theirs is the greater responsibility, for they are to conduct the class struggle from the revolutionary outlook—the class struggle whose basic aim is to free not only the working class but the entire humanity from the capitalist exploitation, oppression and degeneration.

Analysing the character of the ruling capitalist class against whom the working class has to wage a relentless struggle, Comrade Mukherjee said that capitalism, just because it had grown thoroughly reactionary today in the international and national sphere, had been precipitating increasingly acute crisis in

people's life. But capitalism was not its present crisis-ridden self all along its history. Once it played a historic, progressive role in different countries by flying the banner of nationalism and fighting against the feudal relations, values and prejudices. The same class had grown today not only reactionary, but acquired imperialist and fascist character in different countries. It now stands as the greatest stumbling block in the way of progress of human civilization. More than that, in its present third phase of intense general crisis, capitalism is stripping people of their limited democratic rights even, which they have earned through hard struggles, and giving birth to authoritarianism and fascism maintaining, in some countries, the facade of parliamentary democracy and introducing the two-party parliamentary system, or trampling nakedly the democratic rights, norms and liberty in many other countries. When such is the reactionary character of capitalism today, people and the working class have nothing new to expect from it.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat and departed President of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), taught us that the workers would have to unite and build up powerful organisation, and on the strength of such organisation they would have to wage their struggle. Why did he stress united struggle? Because, the capitalist class throughout the world has taken to the most heinous and atrocious course in its bid to overcome its acute crisis and is increasingly leaning onto fascism. It is, therefore, absolutely essential for the workers to unite in order to come to grip with the ruling capitalist class which has assumed such reactionary character today.

Analysing the present

political situation in the country, Comrade Mukherjee said that in our country during the thirty years of the Congress regime, the Press, the entire propaganda machinery and the money

bag of the ruling capitalist class had backed up the Congress as the accredited defender of its aggregate interest. But as the people's discontent against the Congress misrule had been aggravating, the ruling class apprehended that the growing discontent would not bring end to Sm. Indira Gandhi's rule only but might be channelised against capitalism itself. So, with the object of arresting, even if temporarily, the popular outburst against capitalism and shifting the entire burden due to its crisis onto the working class, Emergency was clamped. The Congress led by Sm. Gandhi had taken to this heinous course with a view to defending openly the aggregate interest of the capitalist class. But, as already pointed out, the ruling class had realised that although the Congress had faithfully served capitalism, the people's discontent might not only bring end to the Congress rule, but to capitalism itself. Under the circumstance, it had propped up the Janata Party as the bourgeois alternative to the Congress. Everybody knows that Sri Jayaprakash Narayan had tried to build up a viable opposition in the parliamentary system during the Congress rule, but despite persistent attempt, he had failed in his object. Appropriating the fruit of the movement led by him, the ruling capitalist class had propped up the Janata within 48 hours. Election was called. With the backing of the ruling class, the Administration and the propaganda machinery, certain discredited persons like Mr. Morarji Desai, and a group of socialists who had long been trying in vain to bring this motley group

together into a single party and also some communal and parochial forces came together and merged into the Janata Party overnight. The motive behind this role of the capitalist class was to protect capitalism, even if temporarily from the people's wrath by installing the Janata in power at the centre in the place of the Congress and try to perpetuate in this way its authoritarian rule in a different form through introduction of the two-party parliamentary system.

Comrade Mukherjee emphasised that the working class was capable of freeing society from the ever increasing exploitation and oppression perpetrated by the ruling capitalist class in this third intense phase of general crisis of capitalism. But, as Marx had pointed out, the workers will have to change themselves first in order that they can change the world. Elaborating this point, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our beloved leader, teacher and guide, taught us that the words that the workers would change the world did not mean that they could do it simply because they were workers. Even thousands of workers rallied in any means whatsoever and giving out the call for revolution could not accomplish it. Only those of the workers can accomplish the task who are class conscious and have transformed themselves so as to be worthy of the revolution. Only those of the workers can change the world who are transformed not only politically, but in conduct, in behaviour, in morals, ethics and culture, and who have been able to develop the revolutionary leadership from among themselves by freeing themselves from the bourgeois cultural depravities and narrow outlook. Mere shouting of slogans will not do in the working class movement. The economic distress of the working people is a burning fact.

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West Bengal Government's Budget—Continuation of the same Anti-People Policy

Synopsis of Com. Debaprosad Sarkar's Speech in the Assembly

From an unbiased examination of the various aspects of the budget for 1979-80 placed at the Assembly I cannot subscribe to the views of the Finance Minister, nor I am at one with his claims of achievements.

In the earlier part of his budget speech, the Finance Minister has mentioned that: "The marked changes brought about in the state by the 'Left Front' Government were discernible in the increase of incomes of the State during 1977-78 as per approximate estimates per capita increase being 6.46 p.c. which is the highest rate of increase in the post-independence period."

So, the increase in per capita income in the State seems to be one of the main planks of achievement of the 'Left Front' Government according to Mr. Asoke Mitra, the Finance Minister. But does not Mr. Mitra know that even if the capitalists mint profit of crores of rupees and common toiling masses actually lose fast their real earnings, still then the average national income can be shown to have been raised?

What is the real picture in our country? What is the principle of distribution of national income operative here? Is it not a fact that the lion's share of national income is appropriated by the capitalist class as profits robbing the people? Even the government's statistics as placed at the Lok Sabha cannot deny this fact. From the figures presented there we know that within the four years 1972-76, non-public sector industrialists increased their assets by more than 60 p.c. So, we see that the house of Birla which had as total assets Rs. 589 crores 42 lakhs in 1972, increased it to Rs. 974 crores 63 lakhs in 1976. Within the same period the Tata's achievement was from the asset of Rs. 641 crores 93 lakhs to Rs. 980 crores 77 lakhs. This is one side of the medal, the other side being what has been admitted even by the planning commission that the percentage of wage cost to total manufacturing cost has been steadily on the decrease. That means worker's share in increase in productivity and profit is steadily going down. So, in a crisis-ridden capitalist economy like that in our country where the capitalist class is passing

the buck on to the shoulders of the common people and people are being subjected to more and more intense exploitation can the jugglery of "average national income" reveal the truth? In fact, this game of figure was being resorted to by the Congress Government in the past to hide the reality of perpetuation and ever-intensifying capitalist exploitation over the toiling masses. By taking cue from the same bourgeois device, does the 'Left Front' Government make any departure from the fraud on the common people? But in doing so, its self-contradiction was transparent. While placing on record its grievances against the nationalised financial institutions like banks etc. as regards investment of capital in the state, the government said: The policy that has so long been pursued by banking and other nationalised financial institutions has created our difficulty. We are being deprived of adequate investment. The plea of these institutions has been that compared on the basis of per capita income West Bengal is placed high on the order and so less investment here is justified. But they have not taken

into account the average income of the people of Calcutta and have ignored the fact that bulk of the citizens of Calcutta are in extreme poverty. They have decided their investment policy on the basis of figures of incomes of the people in the upper echelons and made an average of these figures to show that of West Bengal. So, you see, the Finance Minister has admitted the low income of bulk of the population, of course, in his fight against the nationalised financial institution but has used the same logic of his opponent against the common people when they fight capitalist exploitation. So just before that he was claiming the success of the government on the so-called increase in the per capita income in the state! He therefore, called the bluff of his earlier claim, may be unintentionally, unguardedly!

The budget proposes to raise D.A. of the employees of State Government to make it at the rate of the Central Government as also increase in DA for the teachers and non-teaching staff in schools, colleges and universities. Over and above this, the government proposes to make education in class IX and X free from January 1980. To implement these two measures, the government will have to incur extra expenditures of Rs. 30 crores and Rs. 3 crores respectively and a total of Rs. 33 crores. But the government meets this extra expenditure by bringing new taxes to the extent of Rs. 37 crores. (Of these new taxes, besides raising general sales tax by one p.c. it introduces for the first time in the state, profession tax on low and fixed income group. Persons having income of Rs. 500

by way of salary, allowance or other gains will come under the purview of the tax—Ed. P. Era). So we find, to give some relief to only a small percentage of the state's population, approximately 6 lakhs State Government employees, teachers etc. the people of the state have been subjected to fresh burden of taxes of Rs 37 crores. The agricultural workers, share-croppers, poor peasants, factory workers or in other words the overwhelming population of the state, not to speak of getting any relief got instead, heavier burden of taxes.

The tax principle pursued in the budget can be understood by the fact that tax constitutes 70 p.c. of the revenue income, and non-tax revenue making a very little contribution. It is agreed on all hands that progressive tax policy keeps before it the objective of lessening the burden on common people thus helping improvement of their financial standard. It therefore strives to collect money more and more from non-tax sources like the government undertakings or government-run institutions, in our cases, the State transport etc. as also to tax the rich both rural and urban. But the 'Left Front' Government following the footsteps of the Congress rule has been imposing more and more financial burdens on the common people. It has imposed burden of additional taxes to the tune of rupees ninety-nine crores in its rule of twenty months. That is to say within this short span this government has raised taxes by thirty percent. Just imagine at what rate tax burden is increasing on common people! And this is over and above the increase in taxes and levies or cess by the Central Government and corporations, municipalities and the Panchayats—the local self government institutions. But even after all this big gaps in the budgets are left to be covered by deficit financing which means printing of notes or further taxation although they are no,

definitely spelt out. In any case, that will mean further financial burden on the people.

The Finance Minister, has referred to record production of food in his speech. That's good but who gets benefit from this increase in food production? Has it gone to the benefit of the people by fall in the prices of food grains? It is the common experience that people continue to pay high prices for food grains. Then has it benefited the poor peasant in any way? Poor peasants would have got at least some consolation had the record food production meant at least stoppage of their distress sale and a fair return on their toil. But that has not been achieved. So who gets the benefit of record production of food grains? Thanks to the help and co-operation of the 'Left Front' Government, that has gone as usual to jotedars, black marketeers, hoarders and dishonest traders. Common people as consumers and the poor peasants have contributed to this record production but as in the past, are deprived of any benefit of this production, even now under the rule of the 'Left Front' Government.

I would draw your attention now to a novel feature in this budget. I refer to imposition of a new tax on cabaret dance. This government was verbally fighting against perverse and degenerate culture but by this novel step, it now gives a legal sanction to perverse culture. The government says that any perverse and degenerate form of art or culture like cabaret is allowed only if it pays taxes to the government! What a nice way of fighting cultural degeneration! I am tempted to suggest to this government that by the same token they might have as well imposed taxes on theft, burglary etc. etc. giving legal sanction to all these anti-social acts on the plea that money is needed! Really have you given slightest thought and consideration

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The Pseudo-Marxist Parties are now the last prop of moribund Capitalism

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But is the kind of movement for only pay rise and some other demands the way out of it? Lenin had taught that even if some demands of the workers were fulfilled while the capitalist order remained intact, this exploitative system would continue to prevail and the workers would remain wage slaves as before. This teaching should be constantly borne in mind. However militant movements may the workers conduct for the realisation of their economic and democratic demands, however much democratic rights and economic demands may they realise by shedding blood, by that alone they cannot bring end to their slavery. Drawing attention to the General Secretary's report at the conference, Comrade Mukherjee said that the UTUC (Lenin Sarani)'s organisational strength had increased manifold since its inception. It did not certainly come about by any magic. It has been made possible only through relentless struggle guided by the invaluable teachings of the great leaders of the proletariat—**Marx, Engels, Lenin to Shibdas Ghosh**. If the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) deviates from this line of struggle, there will be no difference between this organisation and the others. If the organisation means to accomplish the historic task devolving upon it, it must conduct unceasing struggle along the path shown by **Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Shibdas Ghosh**.

Comrade Mukherjee continued: **Comrade Ghosh** taught us that Marxism is not just another school of thought among many others. It is a comprehensive science, the co-ordination of science, the science of sciences covering all aspects of life and epistemology. Marxism-Leninism is not a weapon to fight with for realising merely some economic

demands. It is an invincible weapon in the hands of the working class, a weapon much more powerful than the deadly atom bomb with which the capitalist-imperialist forces are threatening the civilization. The bastion of the imperialist forces, the US imperialism, and the ruling capitalist class of our country know it well that once the working class arms itself with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and faces up on this strength, it will be sounding the death-knell of the ruling capitalist class. For this reason the reactionaries in our country raise hue and cry that Marxism is a foreign ideology. But Comrade Mukherjee, asked, did the idea of nationalism of which the bourgeoisie is so eloquent originate in India? Was not our national independence movement based on the concept of bourgeois democracy which

Every era has its two trends—one is progressive, the other is reactionary. One advances civilization, the other brings ruin to it. The toiling masses will have to decide which of these two trends in our era they will follow. The capitalist class has decided as at present to try to perpetuate the crisis-ridden, moribund capitalism following the course of fascism. So the question is whether some superficial talk of Marxism, some kind of passive support, or mere raising of slogans would serve the object if we really want to find out the correct road to emancipation from exploitation of all sorts. Mere canting the teachings of Marxism would not help; these will have to be followed in every sphere of life. If a sharp-edged sword is left unused, it rusts. It has to be sharpened continuously so that the enemy may be struck effectively and onward progress be ensured.

A Correction

In our issue dated 15th March 1979, Page 2 column 3-4 the expression "...that a new contradiction along with those four has also appeared in our time between the resurgent independent bourgeois sovereign state with imperialism as well as socialism" was wrongly printed omitting the portion "...with imperialism as well as ...".

The mistake is regretted—Ed. Board—P. Era.

had developed in the West through anti-feudal struggle? Is not the present independent Sovereign State in our country a sequel to this course of development? So many life-saving medicines have been discovered in foreign countries. But we use them, although they are of foreign origin. We do, because they are for human welfare. It should be realised therefore that knowledge knows no national boundary. What is true for the whole of mankind is true for the people of each and every land.

For example, Germany which gave birth to fascism and Hitler, had also given birth to the great leader of the proletariat Marx.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that the working class movement in our country is part and parcel of the international movement of the proletariat. The world is now divided into two camps—the capitalist-imperialist camp and the socialist camp. It is true that disunity and complications have arisen in the socialist camp centring round ideological conflict and other issues. Showing the correct way to resolve the ideological conflict **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** pointed out that ideological struggle strengthens, rather than weakens, unity among communists if the struggle be conducted on the correct road. By adopting the correct process of ideological

struggle the mechanisation in thought process can be eliminated and the dialectical method of approach and analysis can be strengthened. In this way the revolutionary political party gains in strength and its knowledge is enriched. That is why **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** urged time and again to carry on the ideological struggle in the correct way, since that alone can pave the road to success. And that is the only way by which the toiling people can understand which is the correct road and which is wrong. If this method is not followed the working class movement is doomed to stagnate in blind alley.

Urging the delegate Comrades to remember this teaching Comrade Mukherjee said that they must carry on a relentless struggle to keep the working class movement free from all sorts of blindness, fanaticism and mechanisation. The cherished goal that beacons the toiling people can be reached only if the struggle be conducted in the light of scientific knowledge. For, this knowledge is no fancy, not subjective thinking of an individual, it is objective knowledge—science that is based on experimented truth.

Elaborating the point further **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** taught us that truth would have to be realised in its concrete form, in the context of its space and time. When the working class will be able to realise the correct nature of the concrete contradictions of national situation in the background of a given international situation, its understanding will be most decisive. In the light of this teaching the present state of working class movement in our country may be analysed. Drawing lesson from the recent trade union movements the working class must be conscious of the fact that all those parties which so long used to raise slogans of communism and proletarian internationalism, used to mobilise the toiling people

in the democratic mass movements, and, as member of the Opposition, used not only to deliver fiery speeches but at times even made show of movements—whether they stand for the people's democratic revolution like the CPI(M) or the national democratic revolution like the CPI—they are playing nakedly today the role of compromising forces between labour and capital and are shrewdly misleading the working class movement. It is to be noted that generally it is not so difficult to recognise the branded bourgeois parties, but it is really difficult to recognise those who not only disrupt the working class movement from within, but who act as the forces of compromise between labour and capital. This is because, they pretend to be all sympathy for the people, and the people, because of their low level of consciousness confuse them to be communists only to be deceived. The politically conscious and advanced section of the workers should realise that although the character of these pseudo-revolutionaries may be exposed to them, the same is yet to be exposed to the wider section of the people.

So long these parties are in the Opposition, they raise militant slogans against the ruling class and sometimes even clamour for movements, but as soon as saddled in the government they defend the interest of the capitalist class in various sly means and at the same time try to hoax the people posing themselves as Left and communists. This is exactly what they are doing right now. Until and unless it is possible to unmask these pseudo-Marxists by conducting intense ideological struggle it will not be possible to isolate them. The people will be able to identify their class character also by realising how the ruling class has been certifying these so-called 'revolutionaries'. The ruling capitalist class is by no means fool. It is

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extremely cunning and is fully conscious of its class interest. The capitalists like the Tatas and Birlas are advising Mr. Morarji Desai to learn from the CPI(M) leader and the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu, how to run the administration and diffuse the discontent among the people. Should it be difficult any more to understand what kind of 'revolutionary' these people are after going through this advice from the Statesman, the mouthpiece of the Tatas? Comrade Mukherjee asked. The ruling class understands it very well that it is easier to hoodwink and mislead the people by a pseudo-Marxist party like the CPI(M) which even as it shouts slogans of Marxism and moves the red banner actually defends today the interest of the capitalist class.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh taught the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world that "once fascism came out of the womb of social democracy, now social democracy is the last prop of fascism". In our time those parties who are communists in name only but social democratic parties in practice, do have every possibility of turning themselves into fascist parties, while waving the red banner. This is now finding its concrete manifestation on our soil. If you examine every policy of the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal, you will find that though going under the signboard of 'Left' these all have a non-Left orientation.

Thus capitalism today has to pick out these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties as its last resort—parties whose social democratic character has not yet been exposed to the people at large. This is the way capitalism has been trying to win fresh lease of life. Whether it will succeed or not is another matter. But the capitalist class has realised it well that the branded bourgeois parties are not that dependable for them as at

Carry the Revolutionary Banner of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Deeper Down to the Toiling Masses

present, so they now prefer to come to understanding with and rely upon such parties which were hitherto known as forces in favour of democratic mass movements, but are now obstructing these shrewdly. They are defending the interest of the ruling class from within the democratic mass movements and are employing ever newer tricks to hoodwink the people and thus trying to delay the end of capitalism as long as they can.

The working class should also realise that it is irrational to think that things happen spontaneously in the course of history. There are people who believe that revolution will come forth spontaneously since people are burdened increasingly with problems and there is mounting discontent in them.

This question of building up broad-based unity must not remain in the form of a slogan only. The decision at this conference to build up united struggle must be concretised.

The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) has been trying to build up united struggle from its inception. But the social democratic forces who are clamouring for movement do not pay any heed to our call. On the contrary, they are trying to create obstacles at every stage of development of unity. They have resorted to even more heinous acts. They have stooped so low as to obstruct the holding of this conference. They have torn off posters, effaced wall writings, obstructed campaigns etc. But why did they take to such course? Because, they know it for certain that if the UTUC (Lenin Sarani)'s call for unity on the correct base political line materialise, no force on earth can obstruct the growth of the united struggle. They cannot face the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) on the ideological plane, so they have taken to this course.

But their political bankruptcy has gone still further. The bourgeois parties propagate that a foreign ideology like Marxism should not be brought into the working class movement. Now these social democratic parties are saying that politics should be eschewed in the movement involving different sections of the people like workers, peasants, students, youth etc. Comrade Mukherjee asked: Where then lies the difference between the bourgeois parties and the social democratic parties?

In the main political resolution and in the General Secretary's report the need for broad-based unity among the Left and democratic forces in the working class movement has been stressed despite the disruptive role of these forces. The unity is essential for building up movement against the ruling capitalist class. But the unity will have to be built up maintaining the basic right to conduct uncompromising ideological struggle. There is no ground for disunity in the day-to-day working class movement and democratic mass movement just because there are ideological differences among the participants. Moreover, united movement becomes actually possible only when everyone has the full right to have his say on the united platform. Even if one is a loner, one must be given the opportunity to express one's views.

The question now arises why the trade union centres who give lip service to Marxism-Leninism are unwilling to build up united struggle when this is the crying need of the day. The nakedly disruptive role of the CPI(M)-led CITU has become exposed during the recent strikes in jute, press, dock etc. It is now clear as daylight that the CPI(M) and its allies are pursuing the line of class collaboration.

Beside this, there is

another reason for their unwillingness to participate in the united struggle. They are afraid that their social democratic character may get exposed to the working class if they engage themselves in ideological political struggle with the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in the united movement.

Pointing out the difference between the State and the Government, Comrade Mukherjee emphasised that if the exploitative capitalist State machine was not smashed and overthrown by conducting relentless struggle on the correct base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution there may be change in the government many a time, but that will not bring change in the conditions of the exploited masses—they will continue to remain slaves to capitalist exploitation as before.

It should therefore be constantly borne in mind, Comrade Mukherjee continued, that the workers may undergo immense suffering, they may make countless sacrifice, but if their line is incorrect their movement will go astray again and again to the benefit of the capitalists. So, the first and foremost thing is the correct line—to grasp their problem correctly and find out the correct solution.

Explaining that trade union consciousness is not synonymous with class consciousness as the social democrats preach among the workers, Comrade Mukherjee reminded that Marx had said, that although the workers join trade union movement to conduct their day to day struggle they are to transform their trade union as the school of communism, where they can learn the revolutionary teachings of communism and method of organisation. Only then they will acquire the power to analyse events and find out the correct road.

They are able to raise their consciousness to class consciousness and know why there can be no emancipation without revolution.

Comrade Mukherjee reminded that the revolutionary transformation of the society can be accomplished and the emancipation achieved only when the day-to-day struggle of the workers and other section of the toiling people are integrated with the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the correct base political line of the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution in our country. Workers who want their emancipation as a class can only realise it when they organise their struggle on the correct base political line and by building up their own political power in order to conduct protracted battle for the overthrow of capitalist state machine.

In today's perspective two trends have clearly emerged within the working class movement. One is the social democratic trend represented by the forces of compromise between labour and capital who are working for the perpetuation of the capitalist rule. The other is the revolutionary trend which aims at the destruction of the capitalist order and establishment of the socialist order in its place to bring an end to wage-slavery by developing the working class movement on the correct base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and the higher moral, ethical and cultural standard conducive to this revolution. In the light of the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) is upholding the revolutionary trend.

Concluding his speech Comrade Mukherjee called upon all: Comrades, remember that today no other organisation than yours will undertake the historic task of organising the people—along the revolutionary path of their emancipation. While going back

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GROWING IMPERIALIST FEATURES OF INDIAN CAPITAL

Any student of Marxism-Leninism does know it very well that the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of state power. In the words of Stalin, "In the hands of which class, or which classes, is power concentrated, which class or which classes, must be overthrown, which class or which classes, must take power—such is the main question of every revolution". (Works Vol. 9, Moscow 1954. p. 20).

Now, while settling this main question of revolution, in our country, we come across political parties claiming 'Marxist' or 'Marxist-Leninist', who in their bid to justify their queer political thesis of allying with the national bourgeoisie do not admit the fact that the national bourgeoisie is in state power. Some even claim that it is the comprador section of the bourgeoisie which rules the country.

We know a well-known proverb which states that the test of pudding lies in eating. So let us see from some actual facts what is the real political character of the ruling class of our country. Facts reveal that the Indian monopolists are increasingly exporting capital (not commodities) to foreign countries, particularly to the markets of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, establishing joint industrial undertaking in different countries, even in countries like UK and USA, and thus gradually playing the role of an important partner of the international trust and cartel—although, still now, in comparison to their colleagues in West European countries and USA, they are no doubt acting as junior partners.

Ten years back, before the Indian bourgeoisie started such joint venture drive there were only a couple of similar undertakings in some of the countries of Asia and Africa. But eight years later, in 1976, the *Economic and Political Weekly* (May 29, 1976) reported that there were altogether 239 joint ventures in 43 countries abroad. And these countries included Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria, Malaysia and Indonesia etc. The direct foreign investment by the Indian capitalists in these ventures then amounted to Rs. 51.79 crores. Some of these were then already in operation whereas some others were in different

stages of completion. Among the different countries with which the Indian monopolists entered into joint collaboration with the object of investing in some third weaker countries also included the countries of the socialist bloc, namely the USSR Rumania etc. etc. Same year, the *Economic Times* reported a spurt in capital export from India particularly to the Middle East. To Iraq alone India exported Rs. 2300 crores for construction of a complete railway system. In Nigeria too, the volume of capital export from India for a similar undertaking amounted to be of the order of Rs. 1000 crores. In another report published in the *Economic Times* (May 28, 1976), the Executive Director of the IDBI was said to have stated to the press that the International Finance wing of the Bank became the focal point for the clearance of the big projects abroad undertaken by the firms owned by the Indian capitalists running to hundred crores of rupees through consortia of firms set up for the said purpose. He also added that the international financial wing was then financing the construction of pipeline in Kenya in association with a Japanese Bank and the World Bank. In short, this was a part of the total picture, roughly some two years back.

And what is the recent position in this regard? According to the data available up to the end of March 1978, the Govern-

ment of India approved 329 proposals for joint ventures. Of these 92 have already commenced production and the rest projects are under various stages of implementation. And after March 1978, at least four major industries have already been set up or agreements for such collaborations in foreign countries have been finalised.

It is a fact that most of these joint ventures are located in South East Asia and African Countries. Thus there are as many as 35 projects in Malaysia alone. In the Middle East countries, among the recent ventures, one may cite that a steel rolling mill is being set up in Saudi Arabia in collaboration with an Indian business group from Ludhiana, which is estimated to cost Rs 6.5 crores. In Libya, under the aegis of BHEL of India, an Indo-Libyan joint stock company with an Indian holding of 49 per cent, an Indian managing director and two Indian directors, has been set up. This company has already bagged a contract of Rs. 500 crores for the construction of a power station in Tripoli, reports *Economic Times* (15th Nov., 1978). But perhaps the biggest venture of recent times involving Indian monopoly interests is coming up in Malaysia which will require an investment of \$ 60 million. Ballarpur Industries of Delhi under Birla group will own one-third of the total share of this project. In this regard it may not be irrelevant to quote Mr B. M. Birla, one of the leading monopolists belonging to the Birla group, who claimed "Within three years our (i.e. the Birla group—P. Era Board) total investment in ASEAN countries will be touching the 160 million mark." (*Economic Times* dated 7.10.78).

None should however think that the Indian capitalists have restricted their penetration into the

markets of the underdeveloped Afro-Asian and Latin American countries only.

The aspirant Indian bourgeoisie has also penetrated into the markets of some of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and even USA. Facts reveal that it has established joint undertaking in Canada (1-5 projects), UK (6-10 projects), West Germany (1-5 projects), France (1-5 projects), Spain (1-5 projects) and USA (6-10 projects) as well. (From data published in the *India Today*, February 1-15, 1979).

Apart from this, most often the daily press is found replete with the news of multimillion dollar contracts signed by Indian companies for the construction of various projects in different fields like railways, telecommunication net works, pipelines, aerodromes, automobile parts, architectural equipment, gas cylinders, textile plants and other various types of large and middle scale industries in the African, Middle East and Latin American countries. And these they are successfully accomplishing even in the face of sharp competition from the industrial giants of the West. That these joint ventures are successfully fulfilling the aim of the Indian capitalists to earn profit by exploiting the people of these countries is clear from a recent report of the Indian Investment Centre, a Government organization which keeps an eye on all joint ventures abroad. The said organization has been reported to be guessing that in another five to six years, the flow of remittances from abroad should cross Rs. 25 crore a year by way of dividends alone. (*India Today*, February, 1-15, 1979)

The increasing success of the Indian capitalists in making inroads in the markets of the Afro-Asian countries for obvious reason has encouraged the Indian Government, serving the interest of the ruling capitalist class of India to liberalize its policy on joint ventures.

Previously the Indian participation was mainly restricted in the form of indigenous plant and machinery or export of technical know-how. But henceforth, the Government will allow cash equity participation wherever it will be necessary. Moreover the procedure for approval of joint venture has been streamlined and simplified. The policy has been further liberalised by also allowing the trading companies to set up joint ventures abroad. And all these have been done with the object of encouraging the capitalists of our country to set up joint ventures in different foreign countries.

The attitude of the Indian Government in different issues of world politics is obviously being guided and patterned with the objects of aiding the Indian monopolists in their mission of penetrating into the foreign market. Even the *Economic Times*, one of the mouth-pieces of Indian monopoly houses, and industrial giants, in its editorial on 13.10.78 has given recognition to this fact by stating that "It is often fully appreciated that the compulsions of our West Asia policy are not merely political but also economic." It has further pointed out that as the Middle East countries have reservations about the Western countries and USA, the support lent by India to these countries in their conflict against Israel has made it easier for the Indian monopolists to penetrate, flourish in the markets of these countries even competing with the Western giants. Perhaps one cannot imagine of any more open admission to the fact that the ruling capitalist class of India is utilising its political support to the cause of the people of the Middle East as a lever to protect its economic interest in these countries. Moreover, judging in this context alone, one would be able to realise the significance underlying the attempt of the Indian representative, to the last Non-aligned Foreign

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WEST BENGAL GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET

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as to what depth you are bringing down the moral-ethical standard in the country by taking all these steps? May I remind the government that last year during the budget session I drew the attention of the government that advertisement on cabaret dance was being given in the newspapers by the Great Eastern Hotel which was under government management? The concerned minister defended it on the plea that the management had done it just to maintain the continuity and assured the house that he would see to it that this did not happen again. May I ask him and the government that is it their way of keeping promise by allowing cabaret dance in government managed hotel and spending on advertisement even after a year?

The picture on financial position of government run institutions or undertakings, is simply revealing. It shows that out of total 41 undertakings of which final position as to their incomes and expenditures of only 23 has been placed, of the remaining 18 nothing is clear. Any way, three of the undertakings show profit while others suffer losses. The State Transport Corporation has suffered loss to the tune of and Rs 13 crores 8 lakhs and Calcutta Tramways—Rs. 4 Crores 56 lakhs. While the passengers of state buses and trams even after steep rise in fares, let alone getting any amenity, are to undergo daily hazards of life by travelling on footboards. They are also to bear the ever mounting staggering burden of losses of these government agencies. The reason for this ever-increasing losses of these bodies is well-known to the people as also to those who are now in the government—it is stinking corruption running rampant in these bodies. It was in Congress regime and the tradition

still continues with no effort from the 'Left Front' Government to stop it. Then where is the change? Spokesmen of this government made a loud declaration that it would put a stop to corruption and present a clean administration. What about fulfilling this promise? Has there been an iota of efforts visible to fight corruption at the administrative level? Is it not still the common experience that without bribe, nothing can be done in the government departments? Taking bribe from poor rickshaw pullers or in default putting them to harassment or to institute false cases if the truck drivers dare defy the claim by police personnels in broad daylight, go unabated as in the past. Do not all these facts put shame to the government's promise of clean administration? The government, in its bid of pumping life in trade and industry has offered further incentives to the private sector investors. I would like to point out that the government is giving them all sorts of protection and encouragements at the cost of labour's interest. Just take the case of recently ended strike in jute industry. We have seen how the government showed its efforts to safeguard the interest of the jute barons at the cost of vital interests of the jute workers. It was the concrete suggestion of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) that the notorious government order issued to deprive the workers of the full benefit of the recommendation of the Bhattacharjee Commission by the previous Congress Government should be withdrawn in order to bring back directly to the workers their justified claim of Rs. 65.75 as DA, which the government has not accepted only to appease the jute barons. Thus their verbal support to the workers' stands in striking contradiction to their concrete acts of appeasement of

Growing Imperialist Features of Indian Capital

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Ministers' Conference to pose as a champion of the cause of the non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Now, let us go back to the starting point of our article. We would like to ask these 'Marxists' who deny that the national bourgeoisie is in state power; what do all these things signify? Who are these monopolists who are increasingly exporting capital to the foreign markets to establish joint undertakings and in all such ventures are being actively encouraged, and backed by the government which is serving the interest of the class in power? Do they not belong to the national bourgeoisie which is in state power? Because who does not know that, "First, capitalism in its early stage remains national in character and strives hard for the establishment of a sovereign national state. Second, this national capital, in the course of its development, gives birth to monopoly, and capitalism becomes cosmopolitan and acquires the imperialist character at this stage of its development. According to Leninism, it is the national bourgeoisie that is transformed into the monopoly bourgeoisie in the course of development of capitalism."

the capitalists.

And this, they are doing in the name of injecting dynamism in trade and industry. But however much they may try, this exercise is bound to be futile as the entire capitalist productive system is enmeshed in deep crisis and no amount of artificial stimulation can bring back to it vigour and dynamism. It would have been worthwhile had the 'Left Front' government sincerely made efforts to enhance the purchasing power of the common people. Not a sign of this approach, nor any concrete step to that end, however can be found in the budget of this 'Left Front' Government.

(Why SUCI is the only genuine Communist Party in India, page 50-51 **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**). Moreover, those who claim that the 'comprador' section of the bourgeoisie rules the country should also note that the idea "that the compradors, the stooges of imperialism can enter into competitive partnership in the international trust and cartel of the monopolists is a preposterous proposition nowhere to be found in any principle or formulation of the Marxian political economy" (Ibid, page-66).

So all these facts clearly confirm what **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our beloved leader and teacher and the great leader of the proletariat, observed as early as in 1969. While characterising the Indian bourgeoisie, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** observed: The Indian capital in its very process of development has already not only reached the stage of monopoly capitalism but also given birth to financial oligarchy. It is now, though a junior partner, yet a partner of the international trust and cartel. It is making export of capital as distinguished from export of commodities not only to the markets of Asia, Africa, Latin America and different European countries but also to the UK and USA, thereby appearing as a competitor in the world imperialist market, manifesting its own growing imperialist features.

But whatever may be the actual picture, it appears from the ostrich like attitude of these 'Marxists' that, perhaps, they hope to wish away the objective reality as 'Maya' of Shankaracharya. A childish aspiration indeed! Again among them, we most often witness the CPI(M) to go to the extent of completely denying the neo-colonialistic features associated with the export of Indian capital abroad by raising queer logic.

Sometime in the month

of July 1976 last in the same column (P. Era—18th July, 1976), we once criticised basing on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, a similar effort of that party which then assumed (Peoples' Democracy, May, 30, 1976) that the export of capital had to be heavy to bring the recipient countries under the imperialist pail. Domination being the central point, it added, the Indian monopoly groups were nowhere near dominating the countries where they exported capital. So, according to it, anyone claiming that the export of Indian capital might bring in its train Indian imperialism would make himself ridiculous.

What we then witnessed was no doubt a funny thing indeed! Because while the bourgeois mouthpiece like Statesman in its editorial (July 7, 1976) advised the capitalist class to take 'great care' to avoid the 'odium of neo-colonialism that these Indian joint ventures might generate in and abroad and thereby gave tacit admission to the neo-colonialistic design, our 'Marxist' friends, guided by their queer political thesis of allying with the national bourgeoisie denied the imperialist design associated with Indian capital which is being exported abroad for reaping profit, exploiting cheap labour power and raw materials of those countries.

Time and again citing detailed references from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism we have thoroughly exposed the utter falsity of the ideas held by these 'Marxists' in the question of the character of the Indian capital particularly regarding its growing imperialistic features.

It is their utter failure to correctly assess the objective condition that in their fertile brain has given birth to various subjective hypotheses on the question of the strategy and tactics of Indian revolution.

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Organise Movements to resist the Budgets

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from different walks of life came in organised well decorated processions to make it a massive rally.

After explaining the purpose of the deputation to the Governor to the people assembled at Raja Subodh Mullick Square, Comrades Ranjit Dhar and Ashutosh Banerjee read out two memoranda, one submitted to the Governor of West Bengal and the other addressed to the Prime Minister by our General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on the Central budget in which the reactionary proposals of the Central and Rail budgets and their anti-people character have been laid bare urging the Prime Minister to give relief to the toiling millions groaning under the crushing burden of existing mighty tax structure by withdrawing the tax proposals on Kerosene, essential commodities including food articles, not introducing the enhanced rate of monthly ticket as also to give relief by reducing all indirect taxes, which in ultimate analysis, fall adversely on the shoulders of the common people.

A resolution condemning the ghastly incident of police brutalities in Sealdah Railway Station on 26th March last in which at least five persons were killed in police firings and hundreds more seriously wounded over a public protest against continued irregularities in train services and causing untold hardship and harassment to the Railway passengers was adopted for press release.

The memorandum placed on behalf of the people of West Bengal by the Calcutta District Committee in giving the thorough exposure of the air of progressiveness reflected in the State

budget, and as claimed by the 'Left Front' constituents, inter alia stated:

"Left Front" Ministry's 1979-80 budget placed before the Assembly is out and out anti-people as proved by the proposals of increased rate of taxation on different items and the introduction of a new professional tax, both of which will cause a heavy burden on the common people. "Through its three budgets the 'Left Front' Government has increased the taxes to the tune of Rs. 102 crores including an increase of Rs. 40 crores in the present budget". By 4-30 P.M. a massive demonstration, disciplined and well-decorated with festoons and placards displaying various demands embodied in the memorandum parading the Street of Lenin Sarani reached Esplanade East when police stopped it. A delegation comprising Comrades Ashutosh Banerjee, Ranjit Dhar and Fatick Ghosh went to meet the governor. While reporting back, Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee said that although informed beforehand, it is unfortunate that governor did not receive the memorandum, which instead, was received by his secretary. Comrade Banerjee told the audience, by then swelled to several thousands by the onrush of office-goers of the Esplanade-Benoy-Badal-Dinesh Bag area that here, in front of Raj Bhaban, in the past, CPI(M) leaders along with its 'Left Front' constituents came shoulder to shoulder with our party to raise massive voice of protest against the anti-people budgets of the erstwhile Congress Governments and we all then unequivocally condemned it. But the said leaders of the 'Left Front' Government led by the CPI(M) seating in governmental 'gaddi', following the same

Comrade Nihar Mukherji's Ardent Call

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from this conference therefore carry along with you the firm resolve to organise the workers on the correct revolutionary line shown by the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) guided by the great teachings of Comrade Ghosh, and spare no effort to expose the treacherous role of the social democratic compromising forces. Stand by the oppressed people with all your might and initiative to resist the attacks from the ruling class and its governments. Build up your organisation by drawing more and more the toiling people in order to develop ultimately the political power of the toiling people to emancipate yourselves as well as the society from all sorts of exploitation and oppression.

Carry the revolutionary banner of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) deeper down to the toiling masses!

Long Live Revolution!

Long Live UTUC

(Lenin Sarani)

reactionary anti-people tax proposals of the much hated previous Congress regime, have, come out with impunity to impose record amount of tax burden on common people of this state. It is obvious, Comrade Banerjee showed by illustration, that they have completely sided with the bourgeoisie in defence of moribund capitalism and people can see from their bare experiences of day-to-day life that there is no other party, carrying the banner of leftism and revolutionary ideology except the SUCI to take up their genuine cause. Lastly, Comrade Banerjee urged them to come forward to join the movement initiated by our party against the reactionary tax policies of the Centre, Rail and State Governments.

Struggle of Toiling Workers in Andhra Pradesh

The Andhra Pradesh Government has let loose a reign of terror on the workers of tailoring establishments of Kurnool town who struck work in support of their just demands from 5th March this year under the banner of Kurnool Town Tailor Workers' Union. The owners of the tailoring establishments with a view to suppressing the legitimate struggle of the workers used the police who arrested on 10.3.79 under false pretext, 52 workers and Comrade B. Srinivasa Rao, Secretary, Kurnool District Organising Committee SUCI. The police compelled the arrested workers to put off their shoes and stand bare foot on the sun-baked stone under the scorching mid-day sun for more than one hour. Later all of them were huddled together into a tiny cell like pigs in a sty-pen. Not only this, the sub-inspector II Town Police Station, threatened the workers with dire consequences if they conti-

nued their strike. However, the workers were released in the evening. These incidents are reminiscent of the dark days of Emergency imposed by Congress under the leadership of Mrs Indira Gandhi when the whole country was reduced to a vast prison.

The Kurnool District Organising Committee of SUCI in a statement on 11.3.79 has strongly condemned this barbarous acts of the police and their interference in the legitimate movements and demanded that the Andhra Pradesh Government should immediately stop this police atrocity on the striking workers of the tailoring establishments of Kurnool Town and protect their democratic rights. The District Organising Committee has also appealed to all workers' unions and the democratic minded people of the state to come forward to condemn this police brutality and interference and support this just and legitimate movement of the workers.

SUCI Bangalore City Committee Protests Bus-Fare Rise

The Bangalore City Organising Committee, SUCI, on 11th March 1979 has strongly condemned the decision of bus fare rise as an anti-people move at a time when the common men are already groaning under the burden of heavy doses of taxation imposed upon once again in this year's budget by the Central as well as State Governments. The present fare structure of BTS as it is, is fairly high in comparison with that charged in other metropolitan cities and hence the decision for a rise cannot be justified by any means. Instead of taking measures for improving the administration of the BTS, controlling the malpractices to check ever increasing loss they are on the contrary, throwing the entire burden on the shoulders

of the toiling people.

The Committee demanded the immediate withdrawal of the fare rise to be brought into force from 15.3.79 and take appropriate steps in improving the BTS administration.

The Committee further called upon the people in general and all organisations who believe in protecting peoples' interest to come forward to force upon the government for its withdrawal.

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So, to achieve revolution, one must have to overthrow the existing capitalist state by revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the working class.

And thus—thus alone one can resolve the main question of Indian revolution.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE